

Temporary Internal Migrations in Spain, 1860–1930

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Nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century industrialization provoked quantitative and qualitative changes in traditional European migratory patterns. Most of the economic and social history literature concerning the study of European internal migration during the industrializing period has emphasized permanent migration. This article shows, however, that temporary internal migration was common not only in preindustrial societies but in industrializing ones too. The article also examines the causes and the consequences of the persistence of temporary internal migrations in Spain from the mid-nineteenth century to the period leading up to the outbreak of the Spanish civil war (1936–39). Aggregate data sources are used in depth for this purpose. The information derived from aggregate sources is supplemented by reference to secondary sources, mainly comprising local and regional studies.

Nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century industrialization provoked quantitative and qualitative changes in traditional European migratory patterns. On the one hand, the *first globalization* generated mass emigration (Hatton and Williamson 1998; Massey et al. 1998; Hoerder 2002). On the other hand, and taking into account the problems related to the definition and measurement of internal migrants, it has been argued that the phenomena of structural change, industrialization, and urban growth led to an increase in internal migrations (e.g., Baines 1994a; Bade 2003). As the nineteenth century advanced, moreover, many internal migrations tended to become more permanent in nature. Besides this, migrants increasingly moved over medium or

even long distances to a relatively small number of destinations, even though many internal migrants still covered short distances.

This article focuses more on continuity than on change. Most of the literature on economic and social history devoted to the study of European internal migrations during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries has emphasized permanent migration and its responsiveness and notable contribution to structural change and urbanization. More recently, some studies have pointed out that temporary internal migration was common not only in preindustrial societies but also in nineteenth-century industrializing ones. This finding forms part of a new perspective in the social and economic history of migration. New analyses of internal migration, although recognizing the important changes in migratory systems related to modernization, also emphasize continuities with preindustrial times and slow economic and social transitions (Jackson and Moch 1996; Pooley and Turnbull 1998; Hochstadt 1999; Lucassen and Lucassen 1999; Hoerder 2002; Oris 2003).

This article aims to make three main contributions to the literature on the subject of historical migrations. First, it provides a case study of Spain, showing in detail the quantitative relevance of temporary migrations as well as the configuration of different migratory systems during the industrialization of a European country. Second, it examines the causes underlying the persistence of this type of migration. The findings suggest that Spanish industrialization and urbanization were not sufficiently intense or widespread to generate significant ruptures in traditional temporary migration patterns. The small number of major industrial centers, meanwhile, meant that temporary migrations until the early twentieth century tended to occur in the agricultural sector or between rural areas and the service sector in the numerous small and medium-sized towns. Continuity in migratory patterns, however, did not preclude change. The intensification of industrialization and structural change, particularly during the 1920s, increased temporary rural-to-urban migrations. This finding coincides with the evidence for other

European countries and the United States. Several studies have emphasized the existence of a close relationship between labor markets in the agricultural sector and those in the other sectors in the early stages of industrialization (Moch 1992; Baines 1994a; Engerman and Goldin 1994; Postel-Vinay 1994; Hochstadt 1999). Many workers shifted from agriculture to unskilled jobs in industry, often located in growing cities, and vice versa, responding to temporary differences in wages and job opportunities.

Third, this article considers the consequences of temporary migration. The economic benefits of temporary migration affected both areas of origin and destinations. Temporary migration also helped generate other types of internal and international migration. At the macro level, however, the persistence of temporary migrations suggests that instability and the lack of year-round employment was a feature of labor markets during the early period of industrialization, as argued by Steve Hochstadt (1999), among others. The temporary nature of work affected and was affected by wages. Thus a premium might be paid to attract laborers depending on labor demand and supply.

The finding of high temporary migration rates before the Spanish civil war (1936–39) has two further implications. It helps confirm that the occupational categories contained in historical population censuses do not accurately reflect the distribution of labor employed in both agriculture and other sectors, as has been pointed out by Spanish scholars (Erdozain and Mikelarena 1999; Carmona and Simpson 2003; Prados de la Escosura 2003). On the other hand, the remarkable mobility that this examination found has another relevant implication for the debate about Spanish backwardness during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.¹ Because discussion has focused on low levels of structural change and low permanent migratory rates, arguments based on workers' and, in particular, peasants' reluctance to move have often been proposed. This article challenges the predominant view of a scarcely mobile labor market in Spain before the rise in permanent internal migrations during the 1920s.

Previous studies have dealt with temporary internal migrations in Spain. Although some provide useful information and hypotheses, they generally suffer from a range of shortcomings. Various studies rely on secondary sources (Rodríguez-Labandeira 1991; Eiras 1994; Sarasúa 2001), of which some, such as the Social Reform Commission Report (Comisión de Reformas Sociales 1889–93), are rich in detail but weak in quantitative evidence. There are also a number of quantitative studies at the local level (e.g., Reher 1990a; Lanza 1991; Camps 1992; Arbaiza

1998; Dubert 1998; Florencio and López-Martínez 2000). These studies, however, are usually limited in spatial, and sometimes temporal, scope. Local and regional studies reflect temporary migrants, but they do not deal with the overall importance of temporary movements at the national level. Two lines of research at the macro (aggregate) level are worth mentioning here. Donato Gómez-Díaz and José

Céspedes (1996) include data on temporary migration in their description of mobility in Spain. The authors, however, do not analyze the causes and consequences of the persistence of this type of migration in depth. Meanwhile, James Simpson (1995a: chap. 8; 1995b) and Juan Carmona and James Simpson (2003: chap. 3) include temporary migration in their analysis of labor market integration in Spain, but their focus is on the south of the country, and they do not consider either migrant numbers or changes in migratory systems over time.

This article uses an aggregate statistical source, the Census of Population, to reconstruct temporary migrations systematically at different spatial levels and to consider changes over time (see Junta General de Estadística 1863; Dirección General del Instituto Geográfico y Estadístico 1883, 1891, 1902, 1913; Dirección General de Estadística 1922; Dirección General del Instituto Geográfico Catastral y Estadístico 1932). Aside from census data, the article also uses secondary sources to supplement the information obtained at the macro level. Secondary sources include reports by contemporary researchers and social reformers as well as later local and regional studies.

Temporary Internal Migrations in Europe

Migration is less easy to record, and even less clear to define, than other demographic events, such as death, birth, or marriage. Researchers often establish broad categories to distinguish among types of migration (Tilly 1978; Baines 1994a; Hochstadt 1999; Lucassen and Lucassen 1999; Moch 1999; Hoerder 2002). From a basic spatial point of view, migrations can take place across or within national borders. Similarly, from a basic temporal point of view, migrations can be permanent or temporary. Permanent migration is considered to be for a lifetime or to extend from at least a significant part of the economic life cycle of an individual to the age of economic retirement. Temporary migration, meanwhile, admits two main variations, although scholars do not always agree about terminology. *Seasonal* migration usually refers

to movements associated with peaks in agricultural labor demand. On the other hand, *temporary* migration, in the broad sense, refers to movements that occur either inside or outside the agricultural cycle. Temporary migration is, then, a wider category, which may include seasonal migration. In this article, unless the contrary is stated, temporary migration refers to any kind of nonpermanent movement.

Social and economic historians have begun to analyze the role of temporary migrations in rural and urban economies in preindustrial and industrializing Europe.² It has been shown that agricultural areas used temporary migrants in labor intensive tasks, particularly in the harvest (e.g., Lucassen 1987; Moch 1992; Baines 1994a; Hoerder 2002; Bade 2003; Drive 2003). The duration of contracts as well as the age of workers admitted spatial variations (Kertzer and Hogan 1990; Moch 1992; Kok 1997; Reher 1998; Allen 2004; Simpson 2004). Labor in rural areas was not confined to agriculture. Other kinds of temporary work in pastoral transhumance, forestry, digging, textiles, mining, masonry, carpentry, transport, or trade were also common (Lucassen 1987; Moch 1992, 1999; Bade 2003). Mountain areas, where agricultural cycles had a different calendar or agriculture had less relevance than in the valleys (often due to the importance of cattle raising), were an important source of migrant workers for rural (and urban) destinations (Baines 1994a; Albera and Corti 2000). David J. Siddle (1997) and Laurence Fontaine and David Siddle (2000) have shown that the mountains could also be a relevant source of entrepreneurial migrants in trading activities.

From preindustrial times both large and small cities offered opportunities to different types of migrants, who would stay in urban areas for periods of days, weeks, months, or even years (e.g., De Vries 1984; Reher 1990a; Moch 1992; Hoerder 2002; Bade 2003; Lynch 2003). Migrants enrolled in skilled and unskilled industry and service sectors, such as construction, domestic service, and administration, or they came to cities for apprenticeship, training, and marriage. As some studies have shown, high rates of transience and turnover were characteristic of many European cities and industrial centers during the nineteenth century (Kertzer and Hogan 1985; Lucassen 1987; Leboutte 1994; Jackson 1997; Pooley and Turnbull 1998; Hochstadt 1999; Bade 2003).

Data Sources

Studies including some reference to temporary migrations often

exploit local and/or individual sample sources. This article makes use of a complementary approach based on aggregate census data, a strategy followed in recent studies by Gilles Postel-Vinay (1994), James H. Jackson (1997), Thierry Magnac and Gilles Postel-Vinay (1997), and Hochstadt (1999). The study of one city or town undoubtedly permits greater precision and sometimes

the use of rich databases and techniques, such as the register of inhabitants and genealogical records (Kok 2002; Lucassen 2002). These approaches, however, make comparison and generalization at the national level difficult.³ The use of census data, on the other hand, permits an assessment of the magnitude of temporary migration at the national level. It also makes comparison possible across different spatial levels (regions and provinces). It is nonetheless true that the evidence provided by historical censuses and other aggregate statistics has sometimes been criticized for its static nature (i.e., reference to a single point in time), among other shortcomings, and because such sources reflect “lifetime” movements from place of birth to place of residence (e.g., Kertzer and Hogan 1985; Pooley and Doherty 1991; Hochstadt 1999). Although extremely poor in terms of other demographic and socioeconomic phenomena, the Spanish population censuses are unusually rich in this field, because they divide migrants into two categories: permanent (lifetime) and temporary.

Like historical censuses in other countries, Spanish censuses record people born in another province (*nacidos en otra provincia*). These data permit the determination of stocks and intercensus flows of lifetime migrants from the 1870s on. While these figures provide only an incomplete measure of migration, the officials who conducted the census used this information as a proxy for the real magnitude of permanent residents at a time when the in-migrant population was growing in many Spanish provinces (Gómez-Díaz and Céspedes 1996: 41, 58). Studies for other countries make similar use of this kind of data (Boyer 1997; Grant 2000). Spanish censuses also report specific data on temporary migrants. Temporary in-migrants or *transeúntes* refer to temporary nonresidents coming from other municipalities. Temporary out-migrants or *ausentes* refer to temporary absentees. These accounts are reported from 1860 through 1930 in the case of temporary in-migration and from 1877 in the case of temporary out-migration.

The presentation of temporary migration data has some

shortcomings, however. First, most historical censuses in Spain, as in other countries, were carried out on a single date in December, a month not characterized by an increase in the demand for temporary agricultural labor. The data, therefore, do not capture peak harvest labor demand for important crops, such as cereals or vines. However, they do capture peak labor demand in the harvest of olives, another major Mediterranean crop. The data also capture migratory movements in other nonagricultural subsectors characterized by high

rates of temporary migrants, such as mining. Second, data for in- and out- migration provide no information about origins or destinations. Third, out-migration data do not distinguish between internal and external movements. In this regard, we may note that temporary emigration from some coastal provinces to America and North Africa was common, particularly at the end of the nineteenth century and in the early twentieth century (Sánchez-Alonso 1995; Moya 1998). Finally, it has been suggested that the 1920 figures for in-migration are understated in various provinces, although the problem appears to be the opposite in some other provinces. Gómez-Díaz and Céspedes (1996: 48) argue that the data for 1920 are inconsistent because the census coincided with elections to the Spanish Senate on the same date in December.⁴

To resolve the problems derived from the use of aggregate data, at least in part, the following sections combine information based on census data with mainly local and regional studies. These studies confirm the magnitude of temporary migration. They are also helpful for identifying differences between regions as well as for reflecting the main areas of origin and destinations of migratory flows. Secondary sources generally contribute to a better understanding of the causes and consequences of temporary migrations.

The Delay in the Rise of Permanent Internal Migrations

Modern economic growth in Spain is usually held to have begun in the mid- nineteenth century. From then to the Spanish civil war, the country underwent a process of economic modernization characterized by industrialization and the consolidation of market integration (Prados de la Escosura 2003). In spite of these changes, two related facts have drawn Spanish scholars' attention for decades, namely, the high percentage of the population employed in agriculture and the low permanent internal migration rates.

Estimates of the percentage of the population involved in agriculture display a cluster of values around 70 percent (from 66 to 73 percent) until 1910 and around 50 percent (from 46 to 52

percent) in 1930 (e.g., Pérez-Moreda 1987; Nicolau 1989; Erdozain and Mikelarena 1999). Recently, Leandro Prados de la Escosura (2003: 202–10) has produced new estimates suggesting that the traditional estimates may be overstated, but his figures are still high. For instance, the new estimate for 1910 is 58 percent. These high values have

Table 1 Rates of permanent internal in-migration: Intercensus flows between provinces

	1877–87	1888–1900	1901–10	1911–20	1921–30
Intercensus flows	2.2	2.0	2.9	2.8	4.3

Source: Silvestre 2005: 237.

Notes: Rates per total population (percentages). Flows between two census dates, $t - 1$ and t , are estimated according to the following formula: $BAP_t - (S_{t-1} * BAP_{t-1})$. BAP represents the stock of population born in another province; S_{t-1} is the coefficient of the census survival rate, obtained by way of the quotient Population $_t \geq 10$ years / Population $_{t-1}$, the value of which for each period is 0.81 for 1878–87, 0.82 for 1888–1900, 0.82 for 1901–10, 0.84 for 1911–20, and 0.86 for 1921–30. Rates are calculated using the average population between two censuses as the denominator.

raised the question of why the countryside did not transfer more people to nonagricultural sectors. In this regard, Javier Silvestre (2005) has estimated rates of permanent internal in-migration, which are reproduced in table 1. Intercensus flows of permanent internal in-migration grew slowly until the 1920s, when a rate of 4.3 percent of total population practically doubled earlier levels. This increase, as shown in table 2, contributed to the largest change in the stock of permanent migrants, which reached 12.3 percent of the population in 1930.

References to the causes underlying the slow rate of growth in permanent internal migration until the early twentieth century have been common in the Spanish economic and social history literature. Some scholars have stressed *supply side* explanations, such as low demographic dynamism and agricultural backwardness (Nadal 1975; Tortella 1987). Emphasis also has been placed on *institutional* factors shaping the agricultural sector, such as conservatism, resistance to mobility, risk aversion, and the desire for land ownership (Sánchez-Albornoz 1977: 18; Tortella 1994: 7; Simpson 1995a, 1995b; Carmona and Simpson 2003: 92, 115). On the other hand, *demand side* explanations (sometimes proposed by the same authors) have focused on the industrial sector's lack of pull and low levels of urban development (Nadal 1975; Sánchez-Albornoz 1977; Pérez-Moreda 1987; Tortella 1987; Prados de la Escosura 1988; Reher 1989; Simpson 1995a, 1995b; Rosés and Sánchez-Alonso 2003, 2004).

A recent empirical work argues that demand-based factors provide the best explanation for the low rates of permanent internal migration (Silvestre 2005). The same article also demonstrates that migrants did respond to economic change in the 1920s, when growth really took off. The paucity of per-

Table 2 Rates of permanent internal in-migration: Stocks of residents born in another province

	1877	1887	1900	1910	1920	1930
Stocks	7.9	8.2	8.7	9.6	10.3	12.3
(1877 = 100)	100	104	106	110	107	119

Source: Author's calculations based on the population censuses (see Junta General de Estadística 1863; Dirección General del Instituto Geográfico y Estadístico 1883, 1891, 1902, 1913; Dirección General de Estadística 1922; Dirección General del Instituto Geográfico Catastral y Estadístico 1932).

Notes: Rates per total population (percentages). Stocks refer to the percentage of population at time t born in another province.

manent internal migration rates until the twentieth century was, in fact, a characteristic of other backward southern European countries, such as Italy and Portugal (*ibid.*). The rise of permanent internal migrations in Europe was closely bound up with industrialization and economic growth, but this occurred in the nineteenth century only in the most advanced countries (Baines 1994a; Boyer 1997; Hochstadt 1999).

During the period of Spanish industrialization, permanent internal migration was limited not only in time but also in space. Table 3 shows that in 1877 permanent internal migration was focused on comparatively few destinations. By 1930, moreover, the provinces of Madrid and Barcelona accounted for 45.8 percent of permanent migrants (22.9 percent in each). The pull of other destinations lagged far behind, with only a few of them accounting for more than 4 percent of in-migrants. Two facts help explain this concentration. First, the industrialization process was highly concentrated in a relatively small set of places, particularly until World War I (Tirado et al. 2002; Rosés 2003). Thus in 1930 the province of Barcelona alone still accounted for 29 percent of industrial output, despite a certain spatial spread of industrial activity during the 1920s (Pons et al. 2007). The growth of cities, meanwhile, was also limited. According to David S. Reher (1989, 1990b), urbanization in Spain was slower than in other European countries, and large towns were scarce until the second and third decades of the twentieth century.

If Spanish industrial and urban areas failed to increase their

pull until the twentieth century, overseas emigration to America might have offered a plausible alternative for potential migrants (Tortella 1987). This option, however, was not available to all potential migrants. Spanish emigration, mainly to Argentina, Brazil, Cuba, and Uruguay, presented a clear profile. As has

Table 3 Main destinations of permanent internal migration

1877		1930	
Province (region)	Percent- age of all in-migrants	Province (region)	Percent- age of all in-migrants
Madrid (South Castile)	21.0	Madrid (South Castile)	22.9
Barcelona (Mediterranean)	12.7	Barcelona (Mediterranean)	22.9
Cádiz (Andalusia)	5.0	Sevilla (Andalusia)	4.4
Sevilla (Andalusia)	4.7	Vizcaya (North)	4.3
Jaén (Andalusia)	4.1		
Rest of provinces	52.4	Rest of provinces	45.4
Spain total	100.0	Spain total	100.0

Source: Author's calculations based on the population censuses (see Dirección General del Instituto Geográfico y Estadístico 1883; Dirección General del Instituto Geográfico Catastral y Estadístico 1932).

Notes: Percentage of all in-migrants attracted by each destination. "Rest of provinces" comprises 43 and 44 provinces in 1877 and 1930, respectively. See the appendix for the location of provinces and regions.

been shown at both the micro and the macro levels, emigrants were relatively skilled people who tended to come from the least economically backward regions (Sánchez-Alonso 1995, 2000; Moya 1998). Income constraints, more-over, were a powerful factor preventing greater overseas emigration in a poor country such as Spain.

Persistence in Temporary Internal Migrations

National Data

The limited extent of Spanish industrialization, both in space and in time, caused only a moderate change in internal migration patterns. The counter- part of slow growth in permanent migration was the persistence of tempo- rary migration. A comprehensive account of temporary movements in Spain, based on census data, is provided in this section. Temporary migration rates at the nation level are considered first in table 4. In-migration rates, with the exception of the problematic data for 1920, are around 3 percent of the popu- lation over the whole period. Out-migration rates, which include temporaryemigration, present somewhat higher values, in particular at the end of the period. The figures shown in table 4 are more than likely understated

with respect to the real magnitude of temporary movements, but they nonethe-

Table 4 Rates of temporary migration, provinces

	1860	1877	1887	1900	1910	1920	1930
In-migration	2.7	2.8	2.6	2.9	3.1	<i>2.1</i>	2.8
Out-migration		3.6	3.3	4.1	5.2	5.5	5.2

Source: See table 2.

Notes: Rates per total population (percentages). Temporary out-migration includes both internal migration and emigration. It has been argued that in-migration figures for 1920 (in italics) are undervalued in a number of provinces (see section "Data Sources").

less suggest that temporary migration did not decline during the process of Spanish industrialization.

The number of temporary in- and out-migrants and stocks of permanent in-migrants are reflected in table 5. Figures for temporary and permanent in-migration are not strictly equivalent. The difference between stocks of permanent and temporary in-migrants is that the former figures do not capture those whose origin belongs to the same province as their destination. The quantity of permanent migrants is, therefore, somewhat understated in comparison to the quantity of temporary migrants. Nevertheless, the figures confirm that the volume of temporary in-migrants was not negligible. According to table 5, temporary in-migrants represented about one-third of permanent in-migrants from 1877 to 1910. In 1930 temporary in-migrants still represented 24 percent of permanent in-migrants.

Variations in Migration by Province and Region

Temporary migrations admitted spatial variations. In table 6 Spain is split into the six regions proposed by Joan R. Rosés and Blanca Sánchez-Alonso (2004). Table 6 reports in- and out-migration rates at the region level. The provinces included in each region, their location on the map, and migration rates at the level of the provinces are given in figure 1 and the appendix.

In-migration rates, as shown in table 6, were relatively low in the North.⁵ This finding is consistent with the nature of farm organization in the provinces included in this region. The prevalence of small, family-operated farms limited the size of the agricultural labor market (Domínguez 1996: 109; Gallego 2001).

Although short-distance migrations in the region were common, particularly between the mountain areas and the lowlands, agricultural laborers often migrated temporally to the adjacent regions of North Castile

Table 5 Number of temporary and permanent migrants

	1860	1877	1887	1900	1910	1920	1930
Temporary out-migrants		571,173	551,700	685,745	939,480	1,042,120	1,030,474
Temporary in-migrants	430,073	451,927	444,796	472,257	573,205	<i>424,826</i>	687,196
Stock of permanent in-migrants		1,286,902	1,415,397	1,583,495	1,863,007	2,146,213	2,819,483

Source: See table 2.

Notes: Temporary out-migration includes both internal migration and emigration. Stocks of permanent (lifetime) in-migrants do not capture in-migrants whose origin is the same province as the destination. It has been argued that temporary in-migration figures for 1920 (in italics) are undervalued in a number of provinces (see section “Data Sources”).

Table 6 Rates of temporary migration

Regions	In-migration							Out-migration					
	1860	1877	1887	1900	1910	1920	1930	1877	1887	1900	1910	1920	1930
North	1.1	1.4	1.6	2.1	2.2	<i>2.5</i>	2.2	3.9	4.1	4.7	6.7	8.3	8.2
North Castile	1.9	2.7	2.2	3.4	3.6	<i>2.7</i>	3.1	3.9	3.8	5.5	7.5	8.2	6.6
Ebro Valley	2.9	2.6	2.3	3.7	3.5	<i>2.4</i>	4.0	4.9	3.9	5.6	6.6	6.0	6.3
Mediterranean	2.5	1.9	2.2	1.7	1.8	<i>1.9</i>	2.3	2.6	2.1	2.8	3.4	3.6	3.6
South Castile	3.7	4.0	3.3	3.0	3.7	<i>1.5</i>	3.1	3.5	3.0	3.2	3.6	3.5	3.3
Andalusia	4.2	4.1	3.9	3.1	3.6	<i>1.7</i>	2.2	3.1	2.6	3.0	3.4	3.2	2.9

Source: See table 2.

Notes: Rates per total population (percentages). Temporary out-migration includes both internal migration and emigration. Temporary in-migration figures for 1920 (in italics) present some problems of consistency (see section “Data Sources” and note 5).



Figure 1 Regions and provinces

and the Ebro Valley as well as to the north of Portugal (Lanza 1991; Eiras 1994; Fernández de Pinedo 1994; Rey 1994; Domínguez 1996; Dubert 1998). Figures suggest that in-migration rates in North Castile and the Ebro Valley were, in fact, higher than in the North. Temporary out-migrants from the North, as well as from neighboring provinces in North Castile, also traveled long distances to take advantage of abundant opportunities in South Castile and Andalusia (Eiras 1994; Florencio and López-Martínez 2000).

As shown in the appendix, the two eastern provinces of the North region, Vizcaya and Guipúzcoa, exhibit high in-migration rates. In the case of Vizcaya, the expansion of metalworking and particularly mining attracted many temporary migrants from the rest of the region and from North Castile and the Ebro Valley (Arbaiza 1998). Economic growth driven by the metal-working industry in Guipúzcoa, especially from the early twentieth century, generated a similar flow (Hernández and Piquero 1985).

In-migration rates in the Mediterranean region as a whole remained below the national averages. In-migration rates in this

region, however, tended to be higher in the northern provinces. Temporary migrations in the region followed the south-north axis (Martín-Sanz et al. 1946; Marín-

Cantalapiedra 1973; Rodríguez-Labandeira 1991). The greater pull from the provinces of Gerona, Barcelona, and Tarragona extended to agricultural migrants from the Ebro Valley (Aracil et al. 1996; Llonch 1996). Some industrial subsectors offered opportunities for temporary in-migrants in the more diversified province of Barcelona (Vidal 1979; Camps 1995).

As shown in table 6, migration rates in South Castile and Andalusia remained high, at least until the 1920s.⁶ South Castile and Andalusia were, in fact, important destinations for temporary agricultural migrants. The agricultural sector in many southern provinces, in contrast with the northern regions, was organized around the concentration of property and large estates or *latifundios*, in which many landless laborers found seasonal work (Bernal 1985; Mikelarena 1993; Florencio and López-Martínez 2000; Carmona and Simpson 2003). These migrants sometimes traveled long distances from the northern regions, the Mediterranean, and Portugal (Eiras 1994; Gómez-Díaz and Céspedes 1996; Borges 2000; Florencio and López-Martínez 2000). Mining centers located in Huelva, Jaén, and Córdoba also had a strong pull for temporary migrants, particularly during the second half of the nineteenth century (Gómez-Díaz and Céspedes 1996; Borges 2000; Ferrer-Rodríguez et al. 2005).

The province embracing the great city of Madrid (South Castile) exhibited its own special temporary migration model. From preindustrial times the capital city had a strong pull for temporary migrants, who found many opportunities in its large service sector (Ringrose 1983). The numerous medium-sized and small towns dotted all around the country, however, attracted many types of skilled and unskilled temporary migrants (Reher 1989, 1990a, 1996; Vidal 1991; Mikelarena 1996).

High rates of out-migration in some regions and provinces were not only due to movements in Spain. The out-migration rates reported in table 6 do not distinguish between internal and external movements. Studies of Spanish emigration by José C. Moya (1998) and Blanca Sánchez-Alonso (1995, 2000) provide some indication as to whether out-migration in each province was predominantly

internal or external. As shown by these authors, permanent and temporary overseas emigration to America was more intense from areas located close to the coast, where travel and information costs were lower. In the north of the country, in fact, emigration was initially intense from the coastal provinces of the North (La Coruña, Pontevedra, Oviedo, Santander, Vizcaya, and Guipúzcoa) as well as from a few inland provinces of North

Castile and the Ebro Valley (e.g. León, Navarra, and Logroño). Emigration then spread and consolidated in the interior provinces of the North (Lugo and Orense) as well as in other provinces of North Castile. Likewise, early emigration was common in the coastal provinces of Andalusia, such as Cádiz and Málaga, and then from Almería. In the latter case, as well as in the Mediterranean provinces of Alicante, Baleares, and to a lesser extent Murcia, it has been confirmed that agricultural laborers tended to emigrate seasonally to the north of Africa, particularly to Algeria (Sánchez-Alonso 1995).

In short, temporary mobility was a notable feature across different spaces. Short-distance migrations all around the country coexisted with three main medium- and long-distance routes. First, north-south flows were established, especially from the North to North Castile and the Ebro Valley but also to the more distant regions of South Castile and Andalusia. Second, migrants from the interior and the eastern seaboard moved from the Ebro Valley and the south of the Mediterranean toward the northeast of the country. Finally, an east-to-west flow emerged from the Mediterranean to South Castile and Andalusia.

Causes and Consequences of Temporary Internal Migrations

Before the rise in permanent industrial and urban opportunities for migrants, temporary migration in preindustrial and industrializing Spain was, first, a response to the marked seasonality of agricultural labor demand. Spain was a backward country in which agriculture maintained its economic importance well into the twentieth century (see, e.g., Prados de la Escosura 2003). As in other southern European countries, however, seasonal unemployment in agriculture was high (Simpson 2004). During the second half of the nineteenth century, farm laborers could find employment for about half the year in southern Spain, compared to over 200 days in France and about 300 days in northern Europe (Postel-Vinay 1994: 65; Carmona and Simpson 2003: chap. 3; Simpson 2004: 80). At the end of the nineteenth

century, the Social Reform Commission published an ambitious study of working and living conditions in Spain, based on reports and accounts by social reformers, workers, and employers (Comisión de Reformas Sociales 1889–93). According to contemporaries, agricultural work, mainly related with harvests, supplemented agricultural work in other places and seasons as a consequence of differing

agricultural calendars. Half a century later agronomists and state officials described a similar strategy to increase the number of days worked per year in a report on unemployment (Martín-Sanz et al. 1946: 15–16). Recent historiography has confirmed that variations in labor demand were an important cause of temporary movements in the agricultural sector around Spain, particularly with regard to the main crops, such as cereals, vines, and olives (e.g., Lanza 1991; Eiras 1994; Rey 1994; Aracil et al. 1996; Llonch 1996; Florencio and López-Martínez 2000).

Temporary migration was also a significant feature of an economic system in which many workers were employed in both agriculture and other sectors. This point has been made in particular by scholars seeking to show that occupational designations in Spanish historical statistics do not accurately reflect the distribution of labor floating between sectors (Erdozain and Mikelarena 1999; Carmona and Simpson 2003: 94; Prados de la Escosura 2003: 206–7). Because of the seasonality of agricultural production and, particularly in northern regions, the limited extent of agricultural labor markets, agricultural work was often combined with nonagricultural occupations to maximize income diversification and maintain living standards. Temporary migrants supplied rural and urban industries, such as textiles, construction, quarrying, mining, metalworking, carpentry, and woodworking (e.g., Lanza 1991; Eiras 1994; Ferrer-Alòs 1994; Domínguez 1996; Gómez-Díaz and Céspedes 1996; Arbaiza 1998).

Job opportunities in cities until the early twentieth century were, however, concentrated in the local service sector (Reher 1989, 1996). Before the significant growth in the industrial sector, cities predominantly required both skilled and unskilled migrants to meet their labor needs in a variegated service sector (Reher 1989, 1996). The limited capacity of the industrial sector to attract migrants during the nineteenth century has also been demonstrated in a case study of the textile industry in several towns in the province of Barcelona. As shown by Enriqueta Camps (1992,

1995), in-migrants were often skilled workers (weavers and spinners) from relatively nearby areas with a protoindustrial tradition. Towns and cities, meanwhile, were an important locus for domestic service (Sarasúa 1994, 2001; Dubert 1998). Temporary migrants were also involved in trade routes and housing (Domínguez 1996; Gómez-Díaz and Céspedes 1996). Even small towns required numerous migrants of different kinds. In the case of Cuenca (South Castile), for example, temporary migration included domestic servants, apprentices,

and day laborers as well as professionals and public administration employ-ees (Reher 1990a).

Temporary migration played various roles. It eased demographic pres- sures and economic stress by raising and diversifying family incomes (Reher 1990a, 1996; Camps 1992; Arbaiza 1998). Temporary migration of one or more family members also permitted the accumulation of capital. Extra savings were used in the places of origin, for instance, to purchase land or livestock (Sarasúa 1994; Carmona and Simpson 2003). Temporary migration also benefited destinations. Temporary migrants, both unskilled and skilled, were key contributors to urban economic growth (Reher 1989, 1990a). Furthermore, temporary migration in the nineteenth century sometimes helped generate migratory networks, which facilitated the later intensifica- tion of permanent migration (to the same destination) in the early twentieth century (Sarasúa 1994; Llonch 1996). Temporary migration may also have facilitated later overseas emigration from the former internal destination. As shown by Moya (1998: chap. 3), emigrants or their ancestors sometimes had a migratory background, including short-range internal mobility.

Temporary and, particularly, seasonal migration may have had a fur- ther implication for the labor market through the effect on wages. Rosés and Sánchez-Alonso (2003, 2004) have described an intense process of wage con- vergence across Spanish regions, both within and across sectors and occupa- tions. These authors also show that the process occurred without a substan- tial contribution from net migration (including both internal migration and emigration), particularly before 1914. In the end, they argue, other forces, such as changes in technology and trade, were involved in the process of wage convergence. Rosés and Sánchez-Alonso, however, are interested in long-run labor market integration and the effect of permanent migrations, and they, therefore, use average wages. As pointed out by James Simpson(1995a: chap. 8; 1995b) and Carmona and Simpson (2003: chap. 3), however, the continuation of temporary migrations in Spain in the early twentieth cen- tury was based on transitory high

wages in agriculture during peaks in labor demand, particularly in summer harvesting work. As has been explained with reference to other countries, a premium may be paid to attract laborers according to the extent of labor demand and supply in each sector (Engerman and Goldin 1994; Postel-Vinay 1994; Magnac and Postel-Vinay 1997). Carmona and Simpson (2003: 94), in fact, show that in 1914 agricultural wages for peak summer employment in a number of provinces were actually

higher than urban wages in occupations with a strong pull for migrants, such as construction.

The finding of high and persistent rates of temporary migration also has two relevant consequences at the macro level. In the first place, it helps confirm that a part of the labor force was employed in both agriculture and other sectors. The abundance of temporary migrants is also relevant to recent questioning of the agricultural figures reported in Spanish historical statistics. As has been argued in the case of France, workers floating between sectors did not fit into neat, permanent categories, as reflected in the Spanish censuses (Postel-Vinay 1994: 64–65; cf. Erdozain and Mikelarena 1999; Prados de la Escosura 2003: 206–7). Temporary migration is also important to the analysis of industrial figures. Carmona and Simpson (2003: 94) show that in the 1930 census many industrial laborers could not be ascribed to a particular industry, with “sundry” industries (*industrias varias*) accounting for the largest number. The figure was 16.2 percent of the working population in 1930 (my own calculation).

The combination of aggregate figures and secondary sources, on the other hand, provides a view of the labor market in which a part of the labor force was significantly mobile. As explained above, the study of mobility in Spanish industrialization has been strongly influenced by the debate about backwardness. Because structural change and permanent migratory rates evolved slowly until the twentieth century, scholars have debated why people, particularly peasants, did not migrate more and earlier on a permanent basis. Temporary mobility, although reflected in numerous studies, mainly at the local level, has usually been ignored in studies covering the whole country. However, the Spanish case confirms that permanent internal migration represented only a part of mobility during the modernization process in industrializing economies, as argued by Hochstadt (1999: chap. 1) and Leo Lucassen (2002), among others.

Changes over Time

The figures estimated on the basis of the censuses reproduced in tables 4–5 suggest that temporary migrations did not decline during the period considered here. This finding coincides with the evidence for other industrializing economies. Studies of England and Germany, where changes related to modernization took place earlier and were more intense, have detected continuities

in migratory patterns during the nineteenth century (Pooley and Turnbull 1998; Hochstadt 1999). Many workers combined work in the countryside and in the cities even in the heyday of industrialization. Meanwhile, recent studies of two backward southern nations, Portugal and Greece, show that temporary migrations remained at high levels during the first half of the twentieth century (Borges 2000; Hionidou 2002). Nevertheless, temporary migration patterns in Spain did evolve over time. Two related changes are noteworthy: shifting preferences for the type of destination and the *relative* decline of temporary migrations in relation to total migratory movements.

The Spanish economy expanded rapidly in the 1920s, with the industrial and service sectors, particularly, attaining high growth rates (Prados de la Escosura 2003: 201). Industrialization intensified in some provinces of the North, the Ebro Valley, and the Mediterranean regions and in the province of Madrid (Betran 1999). The development of nonagricultural sectors in several areas of destination ensured better insertion of unskilled agricultural workers than had previously been the case, and permanent migration rose as a result (Silvestre 2005). For instance, provinces such as Vizcaya, Guipúzcoa, and Zaragoza increased their pull. This was due to an expansion in metalworking and agrofood industries (Hernández and Piquero 1985; Arbaiza 1998; Silvestre 2003). In-migration also rose in the provinces of Barcelona and Madrid (Vidal 1979; Aracil et al. 1996; García-Delgado and Carrera 2001). The former expanded its diversified industrialized sector, while the latter turned from a service-oriented to a more industrial specialization.

By 1930 the growth provinces had consolidated their position as the main destinations not only for permanent in-migrants but also, as shown in the appendix, for temporary in-migrants. This was reported firsthand by the French sociologist Jacques Valdour (1988 [1919], 2000 [1919]), who posed as a worker in various northeastern cities and villages in the provinces of Barcelona, Vizcaya, and Zaragoza in the course of his study of the conditions endured by the working class. Valdour refers to the

existence of numerous rural laborers working for some months as bricklayers, carpenters, or miners. This pattern, in fact, seems to be confirmed for all provinces. Table 7 reports simple correlation coefficients between the rates of temporary and permanent in-migration.⁷ The trend in the value of correlations is clear. Thus the correlation between temporary and permanent provincial in-migration rises considerably from the late nineteenth century through 1930. While temporary migrations did not disappear during the intensification of industrialization, rural-to-rural and rural-to-urban service sector movements may, as in

Table 7 Evolution of the temporary and permanent in-migration patterns

	1877	1887	1900	1910	1920	1930
Correlations between permanent and temporary in-migration rates	0.31	0.27	0.23	0.44	0.08	0.74

Source: See table 2.

Notes: Pearson correlations. Number of observations = 48 provinces. See note 7 for the correlation in 1920.

other countries, have declined in importance relative to rural-urban movements between agriculture and industry (Moch 1992; Baines 1994a; Hochstadt 1999). The development of the transport system during the 1910s and 1920s, which involved the expansion of the secondary rail network and the creation of road-rail links, as described in Herranz 2005, may also have facilitated temporary migration to new and farther destinations.

Labor demand for temporary migrants in agriculture, on the other hand, may have declined from 1910 on. This was the case in areas with a traditionally strong pull, such as South Castile and, particularly, Andalusia. As shown in the appendix, in-migration rates reveal that Badajoz, Cáceres, Córdoba, Cádiz, Ciudad Real, Huelva, Jaén, and Sevilla were, in fact, the predominant destinations of choice. By 1930, however, they had fallen to intermediate and low positions. Studies at the micro level seem to confirm this trend. Scholars refer to the existence of two kinds of temporary agricultural workers in the south of Spain, short-distance migrants coming from relatively nearby towns and medium- or long-distance migrants who might even come from other regions. Carmona and Simpson (2003) argue that labor demand for short-distance migrants fell in favor of medium- and long-distance migrants. The latter would return each year, encouraging more stable relations between farmers and workers. Other studies also confirm the long-run decline in the labor demand for medium- and long-distance temporary migrants in these regions (Rodríguez-Labandeira 1991; Lemeunier 1994; Borges 2000). There is also evidence for a fall in agricultural labor demand in North Castile and some Mediterranean provinces with a traditional great pull for temporary migrants

(Simpson 1995b; Aracil et al. 1996). One of the key factors behind the decline in the demand for temporary migrants in many agricultural areas was the mechanization of harvesting and other labor-intensive tasks (Simpson 1995b; Carmona and Simpson 2003: chap. 3).

The rise in permanent migrations in Spain during the 1920s was, in any case, greater than the rise in temporary migrations. Table 5 compares the

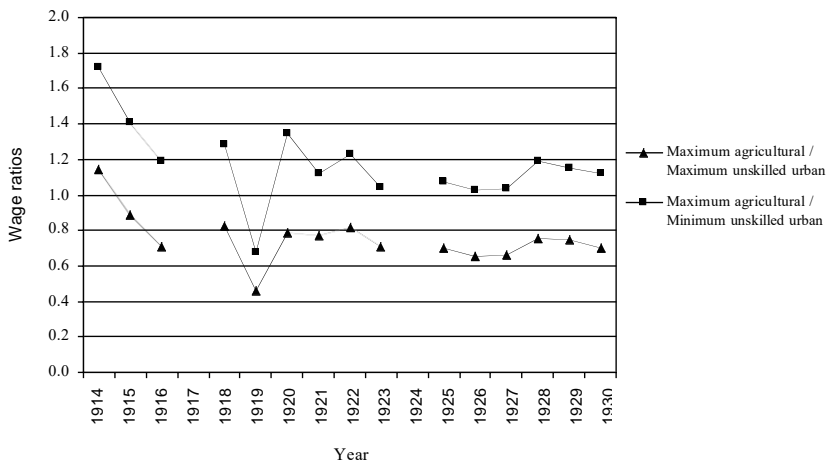


Figure 2 Nominal rural-urban wage gaps

Source: Author's calculations based on Dirección General del Instituto Geográfico y Estadístico 1915–31.
 Notes: Agricultural wages for male workers. Unskilled urban wages refer to construction. Values over the ratio of 1 mean that agricultural wages were higher than urban wages. There are no data for 1917 and 1924. The number of provinces for which data on wages are available is 48 for 1914; 45 for 1915, 1916, and 1918; 46 for 1919 and 1920; 45 for 1921 and 1922; 47 for 1923; 44 for 1925; 43 for 1926; 45 for 1927; 43 for 1928; 42 for 1929; and 43 for 1930.

number of temporary and permanent in-migrants. Between 1910 and 1930 temporary in-migrants fell from one-third to around one-quarter of permanent in-migrants.

The relative decline of temporary migration may be also reflected in wage premiums related to seasonality. The premium paid to attract laborers to the agricultural sector during peaks in labor demand should decline, *ceteris paribus*, in a period when opportunities for permanent in-migrants were increasing, opportunities in the agricultural sector were shrinking, and transport costs were falling. Based on available annual wage data by province and following the method described by Carmona and Simpson (2003: chap. 3) for 1914, it is possible to calculate the ratio between maximum (summer) agricultural wages and either maximum or minimum construction wages between 1914 and 1930. This comparison treats construction as a representative industry with a strong pull for temporary migrants. Figure 2 shows the evolution of the agriculture/construction wage gaps at the national level. Before

proceeding with the analysis, however, let us note an important limitation in the data, namely, the absence of information on the urban and rural cost of living. For this reason, the estimations presented are based on

Table 8 Nominal rural-urban wage gaps, regions

	1914	1920	1925	1930
Panel A: Ratio between maximum agricultural wages and maximum unskilled urban wages				
Regions				
North	1.0	0.8	0.7	0.7
North Castile	1.2	0.7	0.5	0.5
Ebro Valley	1.5	0.8	0.7	0.8
Mediterranean	1.1	0.7	0.9	0.8
South Castile	1.2	0.8	0.7	0.7
Andalusia	0.9	0.9	0.6	0.7
Spain	1.1	0.8	0.7	0.7
Panel B: Ratio between maximum agricultural wages and minimum unskilled urban wages				
Regions				
North	1.5	1.2	1.0	1.0
North Castile	1.6	1.3	0.8	0.7
Ebro Valley	2.1	1.5	1.2	1.4
Mediterranean	1.6	1.0	1.2	1.1
South Castile	2.0	1.1	1.3	1.2
Andalusia	1.6	1.5	1.0	1.3
Spain	1.7	1.3	1.1	1.1

Source: Author's calculations based on the statistical yearbooks 1915, 1921, 1926, 1931 (Dirección General del Instituto Geográfico y Estadístico 1915–31).

Notes: Agricultural wages for male workers. Unskilled urban wages refer to construction. Values over the ratio of 1 mean that agricultural wages were higher than urban wages.

nominal wages. Considering the higher cost of living in the cities, therefore, gaps between rural and urban wages would have been somewhat wider.

Figure 2 shows that the ratio between maximum agricultural wages and maximum urban wages tended to decrease from the first date available. With the exception of 1914, rural-urban wage ratios were less than 1. That is, urban unskilled wages were higher than agricultural wages. Save for 1919, however, the lowest nominal ratio was 0.7, which is not far from the ratio of 1. Figure 2 also reflects the ratio between maximum agricultural wages and minimum urban wages. As expected, wage gaps are wider. Maximum agricultural wages, in fact, remained higher than minimum unskilled urban wages throughout the period. The trend is, nevertheless, similar to the case of the maximum urban wage ratio. The ratios between maximum agricultural wages and minimum unskilled urban wages decreased substantially between 1914 and 1920, and they went on falling during the 1920s,

although more slowly. These trends are confirmed at the regional level in table 8. Panel A reports ratios between maximum wages for selected dates. Panel B

reports ratios between maximum agricultural wages and minimum unskilled urban wages. Both ratios decreased in all regions. In short, the evolution of wage ratios suggests that temporary in-migrants during the 1910s and the 1920s may have continued to take advantage of transitory wage differences across sectors. However, these differences narrowed sharply as the insertion of migrants improved at numerous destinations.

Conclusions

Temporary mobility was an important feature of the Spanish labor market in preindustrial times and during the industrializing period. This article has made use of aggregate statistical sources systematically to estimate temporary migrations at different spatial levels and to consider changes over time. In view of the problems inherent in aggregate sources, the article also uses a number of secondary sources, which help confirm the magnitude of temporary migrations as well as throw light on different types of movements.

Industrialization and urbanization during the nineteenth century were not as intense in Spain as in other European countries, and this is an important factor if we are to understand the persistence of temporary migrations. Thus traditional migration patterns, based on movements in the agricultural sector and between rural areas and service-oriented small and medium-sized towns, remained considerable. Temporary migration was, in large part, a response to seasonality in agricultural production. Meanwhile, the intensification of industrialization and structural change during the early twentieth century did not cause a reduction in temporary migrations. Traditional temporary migration patterns, however, lost importance relative to rural-urban temporary migrations. The case of Spain confirms the evidence for other countries. Recent studies have shown that changes related to industrialization in European countries had a relatively limited impact on internal migration patterns. While permanent internal migrations

increased, then, many internal migrants were still temporary (see, e.g., Pooley and Turnbull 1998; Hochstadt 1999).

Temporary migration had relevant implications at different levels. It played a role in family strategies and contributed to the economy of both areas of origin and destination. The persistence of temporary mobility, on the other hand, helps explain wage variation. Temporary migrants responded to wage premiums in a context characterized both by the lack of year-round employment and by transitory peaks in labor demand. The finding of high

and persistent rates of temporary migration also helps confirm the existence of a part of the labor force that was employed both in agriculture and in other sectors, as pointed out in recent debates on the reliability of historical statistics. Finally, considering temporary mobility provides a more complete view of the Spanish economy in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Because permanent internal migrations rose slowly, the labor market was often represented as scarcely mobile. In a context of moderate industrial and urban growth, however, many workers certainly moved in pursuit of temporary differences in wages and job opportunities.

The Spanish civil war and its economic and social consequences abruptly dismantled both temporary and permanent migratory systems (Ortega and Silvestre 2006). Temporary internal migrations resumed from the mid- or late 1940s, when the economy began to recover. At that time, Spain was still a country in which agriculture was the most important sector and job opportunities in rural areas continued to be significant. According to rural sociologists and historians, in fact, it was probably not until the 1960s that temporary migrations practically disappeared (Pérez-Díaz 1967; Collantes 2005). In this regard, the case of Spain is similar to that of other backward countries, such as Portugal and Greece, where temporary migrations remained important until the mid-twentieth century (Borges 2000; Hionidou 2002). In more developed countries, in contrast, this type of migration lost importance beginning in the late nineteenth century, as suggested in studies of Britain, France, Germany, and the Scandinavian countries (Lucassen 1987: chap. 9; Poussou 1989; Åkerman 1994; Baines 1994b; Leboutte 1994; Postel-Vinay 1994; Hochstadt 1999).

The timing of the fall in temporary migrations in each country (or region) could be related to factors such as mechanization and, in the end, the decline of agriculture, increasing labor demand in urban and industrial occupations, the spread of more permanent employment relations, and the spatial concentration of economic growth. In the 1950s and 1960s

permanent internal migrations from rural areas to cities intensified in Spain. The strong economic growth and structural change achieved in these decades generated abundant, stable jobs and relatively high wages in a small group of destinations. In comparison with previous and later periods, the 1960s were the high point of unskilled migration from rural areas, with a wealth of opportunities for migrants in the industrial sector (Tirado et al. 2006). As a result, both rural-to-rural and rural-to-urban seasonal and temporary migrations declined as the *rural exodus* accelerated in the 1960s, only to tail off in the 1970s.

Appendix Rates of temporary migration in Spain, provinces

Regions and provinces		In-migration							Out-migration					
		1860	1877	1887	1900	1910	1920	1930	1877	1887	1900	1910	1920	1930
North	1—La Coruña	1.3	1.0	1.1	0.9	0.9	1.4	1.1	3.7	4.6	5.2	8.3	9.9	10.0
	2—Lugo	0.4	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.2	2.1	0.2	1.4	1.7	2.7	7.0	10.5	12.0
	3—Pontevedra	0.6	0.4	0.5	0.4	0.5	2.7	1.0	5.6	8.4	8.8	10.8	10.4	12.0
	4—Orense	0.3	0.5	0.6	0.5	0.5	2.6	0.6	2.8	3.1	4.3	9.0	13.3	12.4
	5—Oviedo	0.5	0.6	0.6	0.7	0.7	2.6	0.5	4.2	4.1	2.4	4.3	5.9	5.9
	6—Santander	2.4	1.6	1.7	2.6	2.6	3.1	3.4	4.3	3.7	3.7	4.1	6.0	4.9
	7—Vizcaya	0.9	3.2	3.9	5.3	4.2	4.2	4.9	6.3	3.5	4.1	4.8	5.4	4.4
	8—Guipúzcoa	2.1	3.4	3.8	5.8	8.0	1.6	5.9	2.5	3.5	6.2	5.6	5.1	3.9
North Castile	9—León	0.9	1.0	1.0	1.5	1.3	1.9	1.5	3.3	3.3	5.4	7.3	6.5	5.9
	10—Palencia	1.9	1.9	1.6	2.7	3.1	2.6	2.6	1.5	1.9	2.6	4.0	4.0	4.7
	11—Burgos	2.5	1.8	2.2	3.9	4.1	0.9	3.8	2.6	3.5	5.5	5.5	6.2	5.3
	12—Zamora	1.6	1.9	1.2	2.3	2.4	4.4	2.6	3.0	2.9	4.1	8.6	10.8	6.2
	13—Valladolid	2.2	3.0	1.7	2.9	2.8	4.1	3.1	4.2	3.2	4.5	5.8	8.9	1.9
	14—Soria	1.8	3.6	3.0	4.9	4.8	3.3	3.6	6.7	6.6	8.1	8.4	8.9	7.7
	15—Salamanca	2.4	4.7	3.5	4.0	5.8	2.9	4.8	5.8	5.4	5.7	11.2	10.7	10.1
	16—Avila	2.3	3.1	3.1	4.2	4.1	0.6	3.3	3.9	4.3	7.2	9.1	10.7	10.0
	17—Segovia	1.9	3.0	2.6	4.6	3.9	3.2	2.7	3.8	3.5	6.8	7.4	7.5	8.1

Ebro Valley	18—Alava	3.7	2.4	2.1	3.9	3.5	0.2	6.8	4.7	3.5	5.6	5.8	5.6	8.3
	19—Navarra	3.0	3.1	2.4	4.2	3.7	2.4	5.1	7.3	3.6	5.0	7.3	6.3	6.9
	20—Logroño	1.6	2.2	1.6	3.0	3.1	1.9	2.9	2.5	2.7	3.8	4.5	4.7	4.6
	21—Huesca	2.8	3.1	2.7	5.0	5.2	1.7	3.3	4.7	4.8	9.2	11.9	10.1	9.4
	22—Zaragoza	4.5	2.9	2.8	4.1	3.8	5.2	4.5	3.4	2.8	3.9	3.9	3.5	3.4
	23—Teruel	2.2	2.8	2.3	3.7	2.9	3.8	2.5	5.5	4.3	6.1	7.0	7.4	6.8
	24—Lérida	2.5	1.9	1.9	2.3	2.3	1.9	2.8	6.1	5.9	5.7	6.1	4.7	4.5
Mediterranean	25—Gerona	2.7	2.0	2.1	2.7	2.3	1.5	3.2	4.0	3.6	4.2	3.7	3.7	5.0
	26—Barcelona	4.0	3.9	4.5	1.6	1.9	0.9	4.8	2.8	1.9	1.4	1.4	1.3	0.8
	27—Tarragona	2.0	1.6	2.1	1.7	1.9	3.4	2.1	2.6	2.1	3.4	3.3	2.5	2.4
	28—Castellón	1.6	1.8	1.5	2.8	3.0	1.2	2.2	3.4	1.7	5.2	6.7	7.6	5.1
	29—Valencia	2.7	2.1	2.1	1.6	1.6	4.1	1.9	2.0	1.7	1.6	1.9	2.3	6.4
	30—Alicante	1.0	1.2	1.4	1.4	1.3	0.5	1.8	2.1	2.5	2.3	4.3	3.6	3.2
	31—Murcia	2.5	1.4	1.7	0.9	0.7	2.4	0.6	1.5	1.4	1.5	1.7	3.0	1.6
	32—Balears	3.1	1.4	1.9	1.2	1.3	0.8	1.4	2.4	2.2	2.7	4.3	4.8	4.1
South Castile	33—Madrid	5.7	3.2	2.4	2.4	7.3	2.3	8.4	3.6	2.6	2.2	2.0	2.0	1.7
	34—Guadalajara	4.2	3.8	2.9	3.8	4.4	1.6	2.6	4.7	4.6	5.6	6.1	7.1	7.2
	35—Cáceres	4.4	6.1	4.7	5.3	4.9	0.9	4.1	3.3	2.5	3.4	4.5	4.0	3.9
	36—Toledo	3.1	3.6	3.9	2.6	2.5	3.8	1.6	3.3	3.0	3.5	3.6	3.3	3.0
	37—Cuenca	2.1	3.8	2.5	2.6	2.8	1.5	1.8	4.9	4.0	3.1	3.5	3.5	3.5
	38—Badajoz	4.5	4.0	3.8	3.2	3.4	0.7	3.2	2.9	2.7	3.0	3.4	3.4	3.4
	39—Ciudad Real	3.6	4.7	3.9	2.4	3.0	1.3	1.9	2.5	2.1	1.6	1.9	2.1	1.8
	40—Albacete	1.7	2.6	2.0	1.8	1.4	0.2	1.5	2.6	2.8	3.2	4.1	2.6	2.0

Appendix (continued)

Regions and provinces		In-migration							Out-migration					
		1860	1877	1887	1900	1910	1920	1930	1877	1887	1900	1910	1920	1930
Andalusia	41—Huelva	3.6	3.3	7.5	4.0	6.9	<i>1.7</i>	2.1	2.8	1.7	3.0	2.4	2.9	2.2
	42—Sevilla	4.9	4.2	3.8	3.2	3.8	<i>3.2</i>	3.2	2.8	2.1	2.7	2.8	1.9	1.6
	43—Córdoba	4.0	5.3	4.6	6.6	6.9	<i>1.4</i>	2.7	3.7	3.0	4.5	4.5	3.3	2.5
	44—Jaén	5.3	7.1	4.4	3.4	3.4	<i>1.8</i>	1.9	2.4	2.2	2.4	3.0	2.1	1.9
	45—Cádiz	8.1	6.9	5.6	4.2	3.8	<i>1.1</i>	2.3	3.8	4.1	3.8	4.0	2.7	3.0
	46—Málaga	3.0	2.4	2.0	1.5	1.7	<i>2.3</i>	2.3	2.8	2.9	3.1	2.9	2.6	1.8
	47—Granada	3.0	2.2	1.9	1.3	1.2	<i>1.5</i>	1.2	2.0	1.5	1.7	2.0	2.0	3.2
	48—Almería	1.5	1.5	1.6	0.9	1.2	<i>0.6</i>	2.0	4.1	3.5	2.9	5.9	7.8	7.5

Source: See table 2.

Notes: Rates per total population (percentages). The Canary Islands are not included. Temporary in-migration figures for 1920 (in italics) present some problems of consistency (see section “Data Sources” and note 5).

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Notes

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- 1 This is explained in detail below.
- 2 Related research on temporary migrations includes analyses by historical demographers, family historians, and historical geographers.
- 3 Two relevant exceptions, for both their spatial and their temporal scope, are Pooley and Turnbull 1998 and Hochstadt 1999.
- 4 According to these authors, out-migration figures for the same date would be overstated. Whereas figures for in-migration in 1920 are clearly lower compared to data for 1910 and 1930 in a number of provinces, data for out-migration, nevertheless, tend to remain at similar levels (appendix and tables 4–6).
- 5 The figures given in the appendix show, however, that four provinces in this region (Lugo, Pontevedra, Orense, and Oviedo) present irregular, high in-migration rates at the problematic date of 1920.
- 6 December, when censuses were held, was usually a peak month in the demand for labor during the olive harvest. The extent of olive growing in the Andalusian provinces of Jaén, Córdoba, and Sevilla at the end of the period under study

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reached 46, 38, and 31 percent of total cultivation, respectively (Martín-Sanz et al. 1946: 25). It is possible, therefore, that figures for in-migration rates in these provinces were overstated compared to other provinces.

- 7 Two limitations may be mentioned here. First, stocks of lifetime in-migrants do not include in-migrants whose origin was in the same province as the destination. Second, the date 1920 has been included, although the data are almost certainly unreliable.

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